1:Vanhove--70B G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

534
535
292

Orchestra accompanying the dance of the intore.

The Mwami attending his intore.

(Photos taken by Author)

Dances of the Intore.

(Photos by Borchgraeve.)

645
787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90] 6. The Intore

644
861 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore

1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

644
292 At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and
●[535] others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

857 524 is used to make a dress for the doll which is then carried on the back as mothers carry their children.

[65] When they are not drinking or gossiping, the adult 526 men spent their leisure time shooting arrows at a stick placed at a distance of up to 100 meters or more or by lance-throwing contests at any distant object. In the Tanganyika region a quiet 524 sitting game in which only two persons can participate is very popular. It is a game played on a board (ikisoro) resembling [177] our checker board. It is known to the Wasuaheli as mbao and probably has been imported from there to the Tanganyika area by way of Unjamwesi. From Tanganyika it also penetrated to a few chiefs of central Urundi. The board is rounded off at the edges and has four rows of little bowl-shaped hollows of which there are 32 altogether. Small stones or fruit pits are placed in them. By a complicated system of moves and counter-moves by which one opponent may take stones from the other, one player finally wins all the stones of his opponent. A precise description would lead us too far here, and in any case the game is known from the East African coastal areas.

Weule described (loc. cit., p. 52) the game of patience, ikifundo, that is played in Usige on the north shore of Lake [177] Tanganyika. It was probably an import from the Arabs or the Wasuaheli. I have not seen it myself.

There are also other widespread games, as, for instance, the string games, which I have not seen played by children or adults.

●535 Dances (ivino, uruvino) are included here since they are to a certain extent mere "games." It is true that only a minority of dances are executed for their own sake as amusement; most of them are connected with some family, social, war, or religious celebration and are danced only on these special occasions. They all resemble each other in form, however, and may be described together here, except the religious ones which we shall discuss in the chapter on "Religion" (see p. 127).

Like the Banjaruanda, the Barundi are enthusiastic dancers and dance whenever they have the opportunity. "To amuse oneself, to play, to sing and to dance are synonymous words. They dance well, elegantly (especially the women), even with

535 consummate skill. Boys and girls practice dancing from the earliest age. This they do under the eyes of their parents who encourage and instruct them. For a Murundi of good birth, it would be a disgrace not to be a good dancer" (No. 19, p. 141).

The dances are for the most part mass or group dances, seldom solo dances. They are predominantly stepping dances, seldom hopping or turning dances. Most of them are accompanied by singing, some also by instrumental music. Men execute the great majority of the dances; only one special dance is reserved for the women who never dance with the men. The Batussi participate in all the dances of the Bahutu. Only where many Batussi are gathered, as, for instance, at the royal court, do they dance by themselves. The war dances of the Batussi youths, who are educated at the royal court ("cadet corps") are especially graceful and energetic. No Mutwa is permitted to dance with the Batussi and Bahutu, nor do the latter participate in the Batwa dances, but the Batwa dance often and well among themselves.

All over Urundi and Ruanda the men do the same "national dance." Remarkably enough it is free of any eroticism while the characteristic national dances of the neighboring peoples, especially the Wanjamwesi or even more so the Wawira near Lake Tanganyika, are often more than obscene. [66] This main dance of the men is really a war dance (Plates 31, 32). It is also executed on other occasions of all kinds, either for the mere pleasure of doing it, or to honor a chief or a European, or to celebrate certain anniversaries or occasions which occur only once in a lifetime. The men who participate in the dance arrange themselves with their spears in their right hands in two, three, or four rows. At the curt command of a leader, they execute a series of "figures" in a well-rehearsed sequence. This is mainly leg and foot dancing with the rest of the body hardly involved; only a few figures require any kind of violent movement of the upper part of the body. The main achievement is that the whole group, often numbering several hundred men, stamps the ground rhythmically and in unison, changing from one foot to another all together, as though they were one man. The

535 tempo becomes faster and faster and the stamping progressively heavier without becoming disorderly until suddenly, in one jolt, the figure ends with one movement. For more noise, little iron bells, shaped like cowrie shells, or dried fruit shells, half-filled with pebbles, are tied around the ankles or are fastened to the belt and make a rattling noise at each movement. An interesting description of such a dance can be found in Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 67:

"What a thrilling spectacle! Imagine several hundred black devils, their spears raised and making the most incredible movements with their bodies, all in the same rhythm. The ground trembles under the feverish stamping of their feet, and the weapons make a weird clanging noise. Everything is hidden in a fantastic semidarkness by big clouds of dust. At one moment the wild horde rushes toward you like a legion of the possessed, at another the whole column of men moves quickly backwards while conscientiously keeping in line as though the whole pack of men were only one single body moving over the ground with the speed of wind. In short, it seems like a dream, the onlooker is caught up by the frenzy. These joyous celebrations last through the entire day until many who have come a long distance set out for home."

R. Kandt (No. 22, p. 254) gives us another vivid description:

"I was especially pleased when in the afternoon, as though at a given signal, the hills around me became alive, and the Warundi came running down the slopes in single file looking like serpents with many tails. They gathered by the hundreds in the center of the camp, and, body pressed to body, they executed a silent dance under the aegis of their choir leader. Their feet were beating the ground in an ever changing rhythm, now in dactyls, now in anapaests, now in spondees. The beat became more violent until finally the black mass of men, with a forest of spears towering over them, was envoloped in an almost impenetrable

●535 thick cloud of dust. Through this veil of dust I could see the white in their eyes, the shining rows of their teeth, and their heads thrown back with laughter or ecstasy. It was a strange spectacle which I watched for over an hour without tiring of it. I admired the incredible discipline of this mass of men which reacted to the slightest signal of the choir leader, following promptly the quickly changing rhythms so that it seemed as though the ground trembled under the step of a single giant. [868] Even the small naked boys of six to eight years imitated their fathers and brothers with such adroitness that only rarely did one of them miss a beat in this pedal ceremony. In that case the culprit, blushing with shame, was forced into the background by the angry jeer or rough hand of an adult onlooker."

Another dance, which is seldom done, is executed not in rows but in a wavy line. Holding their spears in their hands, all the men run in single file, keeping the same step by imitating the rhythm of their leader who runs at the head of the line. This produces a sound like that of a galloping horse (No. 19, p. 142).

Solo dances by men are even more rare. The motions of the solo dancer are much livelier than those observed in group dances. Usually the onlookers beat the rhythm by clapping their hands, or a musical accompaniment is made [67] with [534] rattle sticks, a zither (inanga), or a drum. Such a dance is described as follows in Kreuz und Schwert, 1901, p. 212:

"The dancer executes all kinds of jumps: now he approaches the instrument which is setting the rhythm; now he moves away from it in great leaps, now he rushes forward as though he intended to jump over the instrument player; he crawls away on hands and legs, falls backwards onto the ground, suddenly jumps up again; and he continues these antics until he loses his breath. Then someone else takes his place and once more amuses the audience with his wild gyrations. Even though the dancer may be engaged in the wildest leaps, he will stop as suddenly as the instrument player stops his music, for he will not dance without the accompaniment of an instrument."

535 The women always form a circle for their dances. One woman, usually a young girl (sometimes even two), dances in the center. With her arms not quite stretched out and her hands bent upward, she moves to and fro within the circle making all kinds of symbolic movements which are extraordinarily graceful. Von Trotha was very much reminded of the bayaderes (No. 8, p. 72). These dances do not have even a trace of eroticism. Apparently they are an imitation of the characteristics of animals. Van der Burgt interprets the position of the arms as an imitation of the horns of cattle and ascribes an originally religious meaning to the dances (No. 19, p. 142). I feel, however, that in many cases these are supposed to be imitations of the outspread wings of the crowned crane, the characteristic animal of the swampy Ruanda-Urundi landscape, as is also the case with quite similar dances in Ruanda. The position of the rest of the body and the manner of running forward and backward are also, it seems to me, in accord with this. In Ruanda this dance is called "crane dance." Boys and sometimes even men like to take part in it.

While the girl dancing solo (or the two of them) shows her skill in this manner, the women standing around in a circle stamp the ground rhythmically with their feet. They may also sing. A choir leader shouts very short stanzas, sometimes only a single word; which is then repeated by the choir until the choir leader calls out a new stanza.

535 292 There are no special costumes for the dances. Father van der Burgt mentions and gives a picture of a "couronne," a cap made of raffia fibers; from it a long train of fibers hangs down the back. Van der Burgt describes these caps as the decoration of the dancing girls (No. 19, p. 407, and Fig. 138), but these "crowns" are very rare. The Barundi are also not familiar with masked dances or other kinds of disguise connected with dances. There are only certain symbolic cult costumes which are worn by sorcerers or priests leading certain religious dances [302] (see pp. 124, 126, 131 and Plates 25, 54). On the other hand, the faces of the dancers are often painted with white or red earth (cf. pp. 127, 128).

535 The only thing to say about the dances of the Batwa is that in general they resemble the dances of the Bahutu. The Batwa are very enthusiastic dancers, and in their solo dances they perform the strangest gyrations and leaps. Among them also the onlookers accompany the dance by shaking pumpkin rattles and singing short stanzas. This is done in a noisier and wilder fashion than among the Bahutu and the Batussi.

534 I have already mentioned a zither-like instrument, the inanga, with which the Barundi often accompany their solo dances. It consists of a flat, longish bowl of bark or wood. Six to eight cords of sheep gut or sinew are strung across the bowl. We call it a bowl zither (No. 6 of Plate 47). Usually the wood is decorated with a few simple linear decorations, and several holes are pierced in the bottom which are supposed to [68] add richness to the tone. It is noteworthy that the wooden bowl of the instrument is carved by the Batwa while the Bahutu string the cords. Van der Burgt infers from this that the inanga zither was originally the cultural property of the Batwa and was taken over by the Bahutu later (No. 19, p. 387). It seems more probable, judging from its geographical distribution, that it is the cultural property of the Bahima (see p. 158 [not translated]; it occurs both in the north of the Bahima region among the Banjankole and in the south among the Wafipa [Fipa].

The zither is played in a sitting position. The instrument is placed upon the knees, and the strings are plucked with both hands after the player has tuned them correctly by letting them in or out. The tuning is determined entirely by what kind of singing is intended and by the pitch of the singer's voice. I have not noticed that the strings were tuned to any particular sequence of notes in the scale.

533 As in Europe, there are many persons among the Barundi who play an instrument, but only a few can do it really well. There are professional musicians only at the courts of the chiefs. There the musicians, who are predominantly Batwa, play the drums, flutes, and zithers. The same is true in Ruanda.

534 to which small pumpkin rattles are fastened (Nos. 1 and 5 of Plate 47). At religious [69] ceremonies single pumpkin rattles are swung (Plate 25a).

Finally drum (ingoma, inkiranji) is both the rarest and the most highly valued instrument. It is not only used for accompanying dances but also as the main orchestral instrument of the chiefs. Often it has great religious significance. The drum [202] is not used at all for the purpose of signaling or transmitting news. In Urundi there is no "drum language" as there is in other African countries.

Drums are made out of a section of a tree trunk which has been cut off straight at one end rounded off at the other end. The inside of the trunk is hollowed out with carving knives, leaving the fairly thin outer walls. It is then placed on a conical wooden pedestal so that the whole thing has approximately the shape of a "wine glass." The grain mortars are similarly shaped. The open upper end is covered with a piece of cattle hide, shaved thin and stretched tightly across, which was soaked in warm water beforehand. The hide is stretched tight by little wooden pegs fastened around the edge of the drum (No. 2 of Plate 47). Two wooden sticks are used as drum sticks.

533 If the drum is to be used for accompanying a dance -- which is almost always a solo dance, not a group dance -- two, three, or four men beat on it, each alternating quickly with the other in beating the drum with his two sticks in a certain rhythm. Each drummer uses a beat different from that of the next; each always uses only his particular beat. Thus, if there are four drummers, they produce a drum stanza consisting of four different tempos which are repeated until the "drum leader" starts a new stanza by introducing a new beat. The louder it booms, the better. After a short time one of the drummers suddenly jumps up while the others continue drumming; he makes all kinds of leaps, stamps on the ground, creeps forward, runs back and shakes his drumsticks about as though he were possessed. Just as suddenly, he jumps back to his drum and continues drumming with his partners. Then another drummer follows suit or one of the listeners surrounding the scene, and so

533 on for hours. The drum concert and drum dance are hardly
535 ever accompanied by singing (No. 19, p. 388).

In Urundi and Ruanda drums are such a rarity that an
534 experienced observer wrote as recently as 1901: "In Urundi drums are unknown" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 212). During my own two months' journey through central Urundi, I never heard a single drumbeat. This can be explained easily by the fact that there remain only a few small areas in this country where trees still exist that are large enough to make drums (and boats). It is probably because of
534 their high value that the possession of drums has become a
554 privilege of chiefs and of the king. Neither the "people" of
778 the Barundi (Bahutu or Batussi) nor the Batwa are permitted to own drums. A special role is reserved for the king's drum. This drum, in addition to the spear, the finger ring or bracelet (wrist disc), and the holy wooden milk vessels, is part of the royal insignia which the ruler bequeaths to his successor (No. 19, p. 524). This "holy" drum is a kind of Palladium of the realm and, as such, it is given the name akarjenda. It is very big and made from the wood of a special tree. This drum is regarded as the seat of the protective spirit of the realm, and solemn vows are made by this "drum spirit" akarjenda (No. 19, p. 388). Special guards are charged with taking care of [70] this royal drum (see p. 187 [not translated]). It is always kept at the residence of the king and, together with the holy spears and the holy milk vessels, it also accompanies him on his trips (report by Captain von Langenn). The hides used for the holy drums [sic] are taken exclusively from the cattle of the so-called "holy herd" (see p. 44).

533 Neither van der Burgt nor any other observer reports having heard of the combination of several drums and other instruments to form an orchestra, but natives assured me that such an orchestra existed at the royal court and that it consisted of Batwa. I consider this very likely since there is such an orchestra, a combination of several differently tuned drums and flutes, at the residence of Musinga, king of Ruanda. The members of the orchestra are Batwa. It sounds very melodious

846 birth to a girl or a boy. When she leaves the house, her head is newly shaved, and she wears a broad headband made from a corn leaf, probably as a symbol of fertility and as an amulet.

The mother suckles her baby as long as she has milk and
853 as long as the physical condition of the infant seems to require it, which frequently is as much as three to four years. After giving birth to the child, she remains separated from her husband until her menstrual cycle begins again. However, if menstruation fails to occur, the separation is soon ended.

The birth of twins (amahassa) is greeted with mixed feel-
845 ings. Van der Burgt is of the opinion that it gives rise to joy because the Barundi attribute a religious meaning to the birth of twins which they regard as "ope incubi" [the result of intercourse with a spirit] (No. 19, p. 325). On the other hand, Gassldinger states that the birth of twins is considered a bad omen since twins are the favorites of Kiranga, and for this reason they will soon be taken away by him (die) unless the parents pay ransom by making large sacrificial offerings (No. 45, 1914, p. 314). I refrain from giving an opinion as to which
845 conception is the correct one. However, it is a fact that the
782 birth of twins is followed by extraordinary rites, sacrifices, and celebrations. The underlying reason [111] for this is probably that it is known from experience that twins are usually physically weak, and also they cannot get a sufficient amount of nourishment from the mother. As a result, both (or one of them) usually die unless Kiranga is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices. Upon receiving the news of the birth of twins, crowds of neighbors and friends gather. They sing and provide presents and large amounts of food which, however, are only intended for the spirits and disappear at night. A priest (kiranga) is called in. Aided by his assistants and numerous participants, he first performs the ceremony of the "holy spear" (see p. 134). By vener-
[776] ating this symbol, its patron, the great spirit Kiranga, master over all material things, is shown gratitude, and his special blessings are called down upon the twins and their parents (No. 19,
845 pp. 516, 324, 216). Then the young men, with their faces
535 painted red and yellow, perform ritual dances in the courtyard

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers.
They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffocation). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is
[826] born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

553 As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

796 794 575 [576] Kiranga, take a bow, clap their hands (the standard greeting for the king, also in Ruanda and Kisiba), and then present all kinds of requests to him. One desires that his cattle be cured; another wants a husband; a third wants a wife; etc. Kiranga promises that their wishes will be granted if they give him generous presents of beer and cattle.

796 794 575 535 Now the dance begins under the direction of a female leader. "The arms are stretched out to the sides, and the flattened palms are gently and gracefully moved at the wrist joints. Smiling, the rows of dancing girls move toward each other with their heads swaying. Their gesticulations become gradually more lively. The entire body is inclined forward, sideways, and backward in incredible contortions which are accompanied by staggering steps. The dance excites the participants and the onlookers. In a breathy voice the girl leading the dance improvises a chant of praise to Kiranga; the others take up the refrain just as softly. The men's small drums and rattles accompany the dance softly and covertly. In the meantime the musicians lustily partake freely of the beer. Finally, when the girls are tired, they return to their places amidst wild applause. Kiranga, however, also is tired, and he names a successor, a woman, who is greeted with lively applause" (No. 45, 1913).

796 794 575 786 The women are usually particularly skillful in this role. The one who has been chosen as successor places on her head, which has been painted red, a kind of crown made of shells. Her face twitches in nervous excitement. It is a gruesome sight. After she has twirled in a circle for a few times with her arms outstretched, she seats herself on Kiranga's footstool and suddenly screams in a hoarse voice filled with hatred: "All those who have not come shall die of hunger." This is greeted with shouts of approbation by the hundreds of participants who are intoxicated with beer and excitement. Again the woman screams: "All White men and their friends shall die by the spear." The whole circle repeats these maledictions jubilantly. Further: "All enemies are to perish with swollen

Plate 31

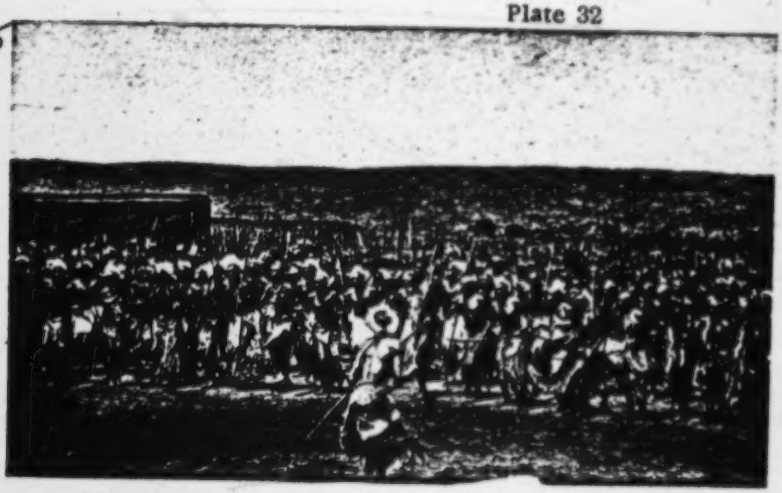
●535

Barundi Batussi Assembling for a Dance
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

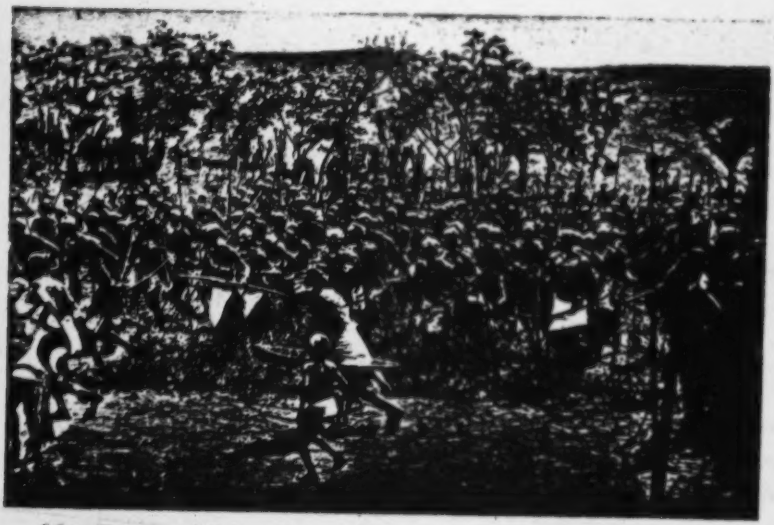
Barundi Dancing near Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 32

535



War Dance of Barundi in Festive Attire
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)



War Dance of Barundi near Gitega Station
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi
439 different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula- [534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little import-
226 ance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

181 other under the threat of some sanction. In Ruanda, of course, it would be
554 considered very improper to give orders or to utter a threat, but beneath the
polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is clear. Consequently
556 we may say that in Ruanda, the only means to power are wealth and rela-
564 tionships in which sanctions are implied.

181 The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda, reputation, is also closely con-
554 nected with children and cattle. First, because powerful men are greatly
233 respected and everybody knows the significance of daughters, sons, and
564 cattle as means to power. Second, because cattle have also a high prestige-
[272] value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to maintain
the superior style of living of the nobles, one must have plenty of milk. Milk
is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana-
beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was con-
sidered a complete food, and true Batutsi were said to live on milk alone.
As each cow did not produce much milk, it was necessary to have an impor-
tant herd to provide for the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover,
cattle had an important aesthetic value in Ruanda. To be expert in cattle-
breeding was required of the nobility. A whole category of poetry was
[538] devoted to the praises of famous cows, individually identified. Very beauti-
ful cows (called *inyambo*) were regarded as belonging to the king even if they
had been produced in somebody else's herd. In many festivities cattle were
presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cattle were
objects of keen interest and aroused feelings of pride similar to those
associated in some Western sub-cultures with the ownership of hunters or
luxury cars. Cattle were the privileged possession of the superior caste, just
as in Europe, in the Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property.
Without losing status, he could not exchange his real estate for gold or
goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and
emotions attached to the possession of cattle in Ruanda, their high prestige-
value is readily understandable.

181 The antiquity of a family is highly valued in Ruanda. Almost any Mututsi
554 is able to give the names of his ancestors for six or eight generations. A
564 family has property which is handed on from one generation to another,
common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a
living reality in which one is proud to participate. Against that background
one may appreciate how children, and particularly sons, give prestige to
the parents. To have many children ensures that family traditions will be
maintained, that the importance of the family will increase, that its property
will be kept and even enlarged, that the ancestors will be honoured. This
not only makes the parents happy, but is recognized by other people and
their esteem for the father is enhanced.

181 Besides recognition of their power, admiration for their cattle, and the
554 respect paid to them on account of their having many children, the Batutsi
564 seek more specific reputations. They like to be recognized as courageous.
They came to Ruanda by conquest and, till the European occupation, their

791 /practitioners/ of this kind demand rather high fees /401/ and will
789 accept no less than a goat, an ox, or even a heifer as the price of their services.

[825] 3. In the Gissaka people believe that there are tame snakes guarding the fields and houses of their masters. Those reptiles coil themselves around the neck of thieves and suffocate them. They also follow the tracks of thieves and receivers of stolen goods to their homes.

4. According to popular belief, the batezi (from the verb gutega, "to lay traps") are capable of uncovering evildoers and thieves by means of a curious method, which is none other than bewitchment by analogy /sympathetic magic/. The victim of the theft comes to the spell caster and presents him with a goat whose throat is immediately slit. Then the magician takes the bladder, fills it with air, and suspends it with a rope from the ceiling of the hut. If the thief's death is desired, the sorcerer punctures the bladder or even cuts the rope that holds it. If the membranous sac collapses on the ground, the thief cannot fail to die instantly. It will be sufficient to ask for news in the vicinity. Any sudden death will be interpreted in this light and ascribed to the act of bewitchment. The belly of the victim will be greatly inflated. This is what is called gubang' agaheto, "to string a bow," as the Banyarwanda sometimes put it when they wish to allude to this method of bewitching.

If the owner of the stolen object wishes to be magnanimous, he asks the sorcerer to strike the bladder only lightly, in order to cause the culprit mere intestinal pains. Needless to say, the Blacks have complete faith in these magic procedures and believe that they have witnessed their consequences in a large number of cases.

754 5. Abachuraguzi. This word comes from the word guchuragura
● [535] and designates a kind of dance. /402/ The devotees of this kind of dance stamp up and down on the spot. People in this category are the true jettatori /from Italian/ whose aim is to cast a spell, jettatura, on their fellow men because they are jealous of their good fortune or because they want revenge fro an offense, real or fancied. Those baleful men operate at night. In order to succeed better in their black designs, the spell casters must wear nothing but an old mat

754 The land was cleared instantly, to the stupefaction of the onlookers. The prince confirmed him in his position.

In closing, we need only cite the Italian proverb, "Se non è vero, è bene trovato /It may not be true, but it is a felicitous invention/." The Blacks hold the sorcerers and their power in high regard.
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The deep-rooted trust of the Blacks in the /444/ skill of their sorcerers and the efficacy of their magic practices has something to do with the stagnant state of their civilizations.

How much are the doctors of occult and divinatory sciences to blame in this connection?

"It would be unfair," says Maurice Delafosse, "to make the magicians responsible for this situation, for they share the belief of their compatriots in the efficacy of their art. They practice magic not only because it is profitable, but also because they are as credulous as their clients." (Les Civilisations négro-africaines /Negro-African Civilizations/.)

Chapter 4

Offices of a Recreational and Literary Nature

644 a. The dancing groups are numerous, and their motions
535 interesting and varied.

The pages have a special dance known by the name of guhamiriza. The kwiyereka and kulambira are indigenous to the mountain dwellers and especially to the Bagoyi.

The renown of this latter group in connection with this type of dance harks back to their great chief Bushako.

The people of the Gissaka specialize in the kubyina urushara.
[534] When the dances are accompanied by stringed instruments known by the name of inanga, they take the name of gutambir' inanga. When performed to the beat of the drum, they are called gutambir' ingoma.

535 The kubyin' umudiho is danced by both men and women, who range themselves in a circle and clap their hands in time while their feet tread the ground. /445/

The word "dance" conveys but imperfectly the pastimes we are describing.

They are rather war games and hunting games. The imitation and mimicry of combats and the pursuit of game are very expressive. The Blacks spend hours on end simulating a battle, challenging and crushing imaginary enemies. From time to time they put down their weapons or present them to the king in perfect unity of motion, sing for a while the great deeds of the monarch, and then renew their fictional struggle.

The men's mudiho and that of the women, or young girls, are closer to the dance.

The women first come forward slowly to the sounds of a chanted elegy, and then some of them leave the group and execute graceful movements guided by the singing and hand clapping of their companions.

Their dances are more aesthetic and less wild.

644 535 b. The corps of pages (intore, from the word gutora, "to choose"), who are recruited among the sons of chiefs, is not the least interesting among the groups who surround the king and who live wholly for his service and pleasure.

Along with the dancers, they contribute a great deal with their gambols and gyrations to the distinctive character of the public festivities which are celebrated at court from time to time, to the festival of the "First fruits," and to the day that closes the great June mourning (igichurassi).

They have special dances for which they undergo an apprenticeship almost daily for several years.

535 554 Like the king, each great Mutusi chief entrusts his pages to the care of highly paid dancing teachers who are to instruct their pupils in new motions and rhythms. This is why the training is carried out secretly /446/, so the "ballets" will be new. A chief derives honor and pleasure from hearing that his pages are the best trained. A great rivalry exists in this connection, therefore, among the various page corps and their respective chiefs.

535 The young men are sustained by the hope of eventually obtaining some cows, by the cheers of the spectators, and by the presence of the king.

On important festival days, the noble squires gird their loins [292] with a colobus or calf pelt adorned with otter hide fringes. On the head they wear a hat of banana-tree fibers that looks like long hair, and their chest is adorned with beads or long narrow strips. They wear bells on their legs and ankles, and they all hold in their hands a spear and a bow. They form groups of 40 or 50, which are differentiated by the richness or design of their costumes and ornaments.

One by one, at the command of the choreographers, they make writhing motions intermingled with jumps and shouts, coming and going with impeccable rhythm, revolving the head as though wishing to tear it from the body. The Blacks are very fond of those war dances, which are in fact marvels of technique.

It is the rhythmic motion of the feet that they admire most and watch most carefully.

644 535 We shall give here for what it may be worth a list of the names of the principal page corps, including the dance groups of the Muhutu /Bahutu/ and Mutwa /Batwa/ race:

Pages and Dancers	Race	Chief
Inchogozabahizi	Abatutsi	Yuhi-Musinga
Intangamuganzanyo	"	"
Urugangazi	"	"
Ibirushya	Abahutu	"
Ishyaka	Abatwa	"
Inkerarugamba	"	" /447/
Indinzi	Abatutsi	Sebagangari
Inkeramihigo	"	Kayondo
Imbasharugamba	Abatwa	"
Inkorabahizi	Abatutsi	Chyitatire
Urwintwari	"	Nturo
Ingeri	"	Rukarakamba
Imbabazabahizi	"	Lwagataraka

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Intagwabira	"	Lugerinyange
Inkwaya (from Bgana-Chambge)	"	Lwabusisi
Amakuza (from Lukaragata)	"	"
Impambara (from Bgishaza)	"	Rwidegembya
Inkaranga (from Bugoyi)	"	Bushako

535 "How shall we describe those dances," says Chalux, (1) "which

1. Un An au Congo belge /A Year in the Belgian Congo/ (Albert Dewit, publ., Brussels), pp. 487 ff.

are as beautiful, as elaborate, and as orderly as the best Russian ballet? They are obviously war dances, and evoke the epic combats of old. They have style and majesty, but in spite of the exactness of motion, the refinement of effects, the artfulness of entrances, exits, and groupings, their essential beauty resides in the fact that they retain a free, sparkling, spontaneous, and seemingly unrehearsed element. Each dancer (there are only men), when observed individually, expresses in his leaps, his steps, and his attitudes the harsh joy of challenging and defeating the enemy. The head is always tossed back, sometimes literally tossed upon the back, and revolves on and on as though the dancer were lending it impetus to propel it through space, as far as possible, against a detested foe. The chest is thrown out arrogantly, the fists are clenched upon the bow and spear, and the arms are rigid, menacing, stretched in two parallel lines. The naked feet hammer on the bare ground, stressing the beat with resounding slaps. The leaps, which are prodigious, defy gravity. The man seems to remain suspended in mid-air while he turns about with a powerful twist of the back, and he touches ground only to spring up even higher /448/ or to simulate with strikingly realistic gestures a fight to the death, the glory of war, the pride of fighting well, of having good weapons, of being a man and a hero, and the full certainty of victory and all its intoxication!

"All this is so natural, so perfectly true, that one must wrench one's sight from the individual and look at the dancers as a whole,

535 all performing exactly the same gestures at exactly the same time, to realize that their dance has been long rehearsed, that it is not improvisation but art, virile, inspired, and magnificently primitive!

"Burning eyes, mouths open on dazzling clenched teeth, feline motions, hip swaying that would shame a gypsy, rippling muscles, stamping feet, ankle bells, the wild gloomy gasps of great drums, the twist of gleaming bodies nude but for an antelopeskin, swinging headgear of long white hair, bold faces, rhythmic jolts, masterly precision, grace and vigor, a frenzied yet controlled youthfulness... What a unique and unforgettable spectacle!

"The dancers of Kayondo (a great chief) were outstanding. To the great surprise and secret mortification of Musinga (the king) his own dancers were a little less so.

"A vertical fold cleaved his black brow. To quote divine Virgil, when Jupiter knits his brows all Olympus trembles.

"Nyanza did not tremble, but I know that some young Batutsi who saw the expression on the face of their demigod were seized with uneasiness.

"The best dancers were the Batwa.

"Yes, the pygmies!...

"The victory in this memorable contact which lasted several hours went to a child, a little mite of hardly twelve, who outshone all the others in the supreme perfection of his dance. /449/

"It began to rain torrentially, as it always does near the Equator. The Batwa danced on.

"The harsh water slashed at them, tearing off their headgear and pressing their antelopeskins so close against their thighs and knees that their movements were hindered. They all went on dancing, but the sacred fire was put out by the storm. The child alone surpassed himself, his beauty heightened by frenzy.

"All eyes were focused upon him. Conscious that he was the center of attention, even for the king and the Whites who were with him, he gave himself completely to the dance. Intoxicated with pride, dealing and parrying fabulous blows, puffing up his small chest to the bursting point, slapping the puddles with frenzied feet and splashing everything around him, he filled the huge flooded enclosure with the suddenly overwhelming dimensions of his tiny self.

535 "His high-pitched, excited voice was heard above all the others when the Batwa, their dance over and their arms uplifted toward Musinga, all shouted at the same time, according to custom, one of these traditional phrases, 'I shall go to my death for the king!' 'When I fight, I kill twenty men!' 'I can no longer keep count of those I have defeated!' 'I shed the greatest amount of blood!'"

533 [534] c. These musicians who are reputed to be the most skillful are retained at court or called there frequently. Their instruments are most primitive. They have a flute (umwironge), the stringed instrument so widespread in equatorial Africa (inanga), and another instrument, more primitive still, the isenge (ocarina type) from which they draw unpleasant sounds. People originally from Usui introduced small drums into the country which they beat with their fingers and which were a great success with the king.

The cithara players are the favorite musicians of the populace. They sing and accompany themselves on their instrument.

The themes of these songs are varied. They deal with the exploits of heroes, the national wars, and even with various /450/ ordinary events of everyday life. The subject is sometimes borrowed from dramas of which the essence and form are common, but they nevertheless draw the attention of listeners because they parallel their own mental attitudes.

533 539 We cite here one of those pieces. We heard it recited by a cithara player. He was seated amidst about ten of his companions, who all plucked their stringed instruments together and repeated certain words in chorus at the end of each phrase. The soloist sang, "A leopard left the woods long after sunset.

"He crossed Goko Stream near the village of Murunda (in the Kanage region).

"He came to the Gishwati country in the early evening.

"He came to the hut of the man called 'I am the man who knows how to handle difficulties' (Nziguye).

"The beast knocked at the door with his paw.

"The daughter of the house (recognized and) addressed the animal.

Sacred Cows

233
778 The idea for this select group is traced back to Ruganzu. These special herds are known as inyambo, or long-horned cattle, and they are always selected among the finest in the land. They are not all of the same color.

Among other hues, the following predominate: dusty red
[822] (ibihogo by' issine), purplish red (ibihogo by' igaju), red speckled with white (ibihogo by' imyeru), and black and white, which are all favorite colors of the Batutsi.

Special cowherds are in charge of watching over those herds, which usually graze in the Buganza.

They are led to the capital for festivals or public celebrations. The finest animals, known as inyamibga or indatwa /510/ (from the word kurata, "to show off"), lead the herd.

There is usually only one or two of these in each herd, and they are accustomed to walking ahead of the others. Their horns, brow, and neck are covered with rows of beads and small antelope
[824] horns which serve as ornaments (imitako n' imiheha). Also included are stems of the sacrosanct umwishwa grass, which the cowherds also wear on chest and head on numerous occasions. Then special
[535] dances take place which are organized by the keepers of the herd or even by the Batwa and in which the animals participate with their mooing.

The cows are quite familiar with this kind of sport, and they seem to take an interest in it and watch the motions of the dancers. The latter emit special guttural cries all the while, in order to excite the animals further.

Performances of this sort are highly esteemed by the Banyarwanda and attract large crowds.

After the celebration the sacred cows return to their Buganza pastures. Their keepers treat them with great care and are the only ones permitted to milk them, just as they are the only ones to drink their milk.

The calves are gorged with milk and weaned quite late.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat animals who died a natural death, they are strictly forbidden

5: Pages--268 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

142
292
411
301

Warriors in festival dress.

142
292
535

Kayondo dancers.

5: Pages--269 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

292
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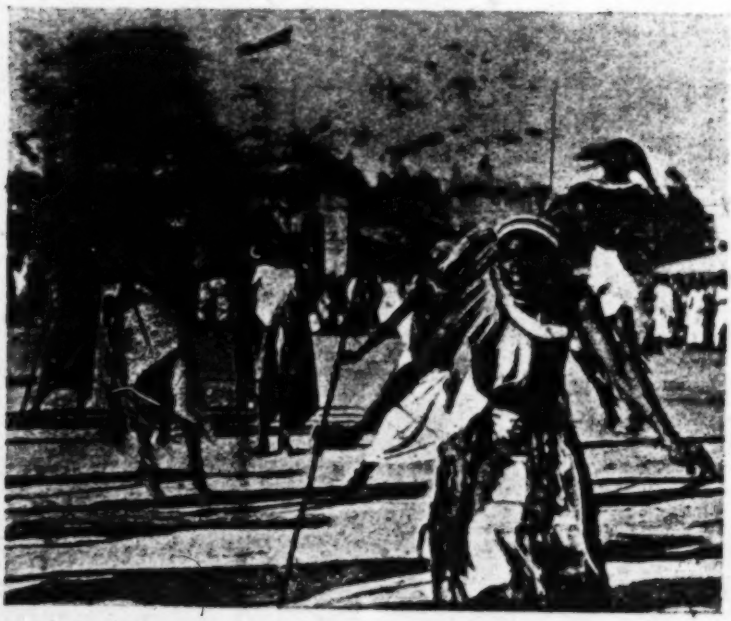
Dance of the pages.



Popular merrymaking. Native dance.

644 Just as the high chiefs pay court to the king, so their women are said to keep the queen mother company and remain in her service. For instance, Kahama told Dr. Schubotz that his second wife was with Musinga (probably with his mother), and when she returned, another woman had to take her place.

The court of the queen mother has nothing to do with the king's harem. [259] Thus, the queen mother, Kanzogera, went on a journey when the news came that our expedition was arriving, but the wives of Musinga remained with him, although they were not visible the whole time. When Father Felix Dufays and I made recordings of their songs and played them back to Musinga, the wives of the king were gathered behind a wall of shield matting in the same hut. They listened to the sounds of the imperfect but nevertheless quite supernatural instrument and occasionally betrayed their presence with laughter that they could not suppress.

The court of the queen mother seems to be the center of the women's life in Ruanda.

Besides the high chiefs, the ntore also are among the privileged members of the king's court. The ntore form the bodyguard of the chiefs. They accompany them everywhere, in the capital and on the battlefield. They are recruited from the sons of the lesser chiefs. They are bodyguards, court dancers, and hostages at the same time, since they are responsible for the deeds of their fathers. The ntore of the king are the sons of the highest dignitaries and are known as danga baganisi.

644 535 When His Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg asked Musinga what danga baganisi meant, he answered, "askari wangu (my soldiers)." However, they perform no military duty and merely compete in the dances. Naturally, they occupy the highest position of all.

644 Besides these privileged members of the court there are others who perform special services, for example, the royal smiths, musicians, Batwa bodyguards, etc. The eldest of the royal smiths is said to enjoy great influence, but apparently the king has given him no lands. The eldest of the court Batwa, the Mutwa, Muhenehene, was pointed out to me as the royal executioner. He is also a very influential man.

531 Circles or spirals are used only on round objects and especially on the bottoms of baskets made by sewing together spirals of straw, on plates, and lids. This shows that the above-mentioned rectilinear forms are simply modified to conform to the material.

Large numbers of unjoined segments and crescents are placed in rows on knife sheaths. They are sometimes also combined with uduhudu or imiambi which separate the individual segments of the ornamentation from each other. On small clay vessels, however, they often flow together to make large units, and on the shield mats we can also see fragments of the three-strand weave.

We may regard the simplicity of Ruanda ornamentation as the result of an adjustment to the material, chiefly the basket sewn together in spiral coils, which is the principal article ornamented. It is not [333] impossible that we have here a secondary simplification dictated by the technique of ornamentation, which consists chiefly of black banana sheaths wound around the coils. The names of the decorative elements lead us to assume that in the past there were probably attempts at realistic portrayal. In support of this view we could point to the amagwe decoration which often appears on the mats. Amagwe means "leopard," and in the drawing we can see a stylization of a four-legged, spotted creature.

535 The Dance. During the festitivies which Musinga arranged in honor of His Highness Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, I had an opportunity to see several very different types of dances (kwamiriza). They were performed in such rapid succession that I was unable to grasp the fundamental differences, hence I must limit myself chiefly to listing them by name.

The first four dances were performed by the danga baganisi, the chosen ones of the king. The first was called imbunduza, the second, rukatsa; the third, tubagendane; and the fourth, kuboko.

The second dance troupe was made up of inkwaya za Kabure. They danced the muganguza, each with an arrow in his hand. The dance is shown on Plate 18 of Volume III.

The third group of dancers were Kanuma's ntore from Kissaka. They danced kuhyereka rushara and a crane dance (1). The small

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1. Adolf Friedrich, Duke of Mecklenburg, Ins innerste Afrika [Into the Interior of Africa] (Leipzig, 1909), p. 118.

boys of Kanuma performed another dance of the same type (2).

Ibid., p. 119.

The dances are divided into two distinct groups, the kwamiriza and the kuhyereka. In the first group the dancers hold a spear or an arrow in their hands and swing them rhythmically. The martial bearing of the dancers indicates that this is a war
[534] dance. In these dances the dancers wear iron bells on their ankles and move in a closed circle or in a line from left to right. This type seems to be representative of all true Batutsi dances.

The second group is the kuhyereka. This is danced by one or two dancers, very rarely by three. In this dance the dancer rocks back and forth with his arms outstretched and often bent backward. This position is called kutega amaboko. For the kuhyereka the bells, if they are used, are fastened under the knee. It is very characteristic that in these dances, which were probably originally Bahutu, the bells are worn in the place where the Bakondjo, who are not influenced by the Batutsi, wear their leg rings.

[334] The dances which I had an opportunity to observe in Mulera belonged altogether to the kuhyereka group. The dance was performed by two soloists, and the passive participants accompanied their movements with singing and hand clapping to maintain the rhythm. The dance was sometimes also accompanied by the playing of the inanga. That only the kuhyereka type of dance appears in Mulera shows very definitely that it belongs to the lower Bantu stratum.

534 Play. Rattles are the common toys for children. Bigger boys like to play with small bows. A discus game is played with bow and arrow. There are two teams, with seven boys on each side. One team throws soft discusses cut out of a banana stalk;

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he did not possess a drum and only used one when it was necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him. A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the ghost.

When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

There was always dancing at new moon, which was accompanied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells. The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns of animals through which the musicians blew, while some members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

A man who had no son might adopt the child of some relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own, he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 2

192
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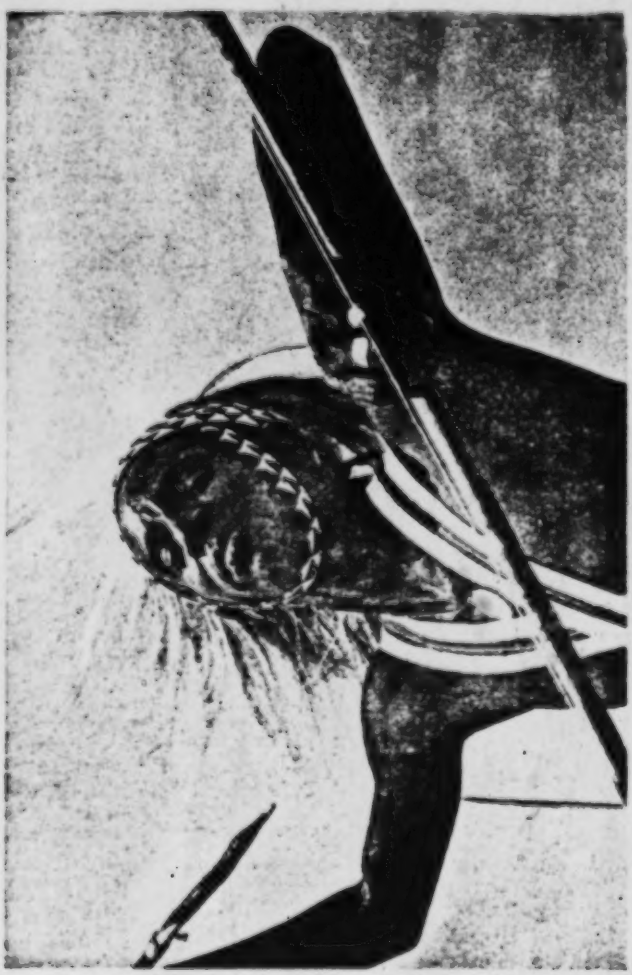

Intore warrior dancing

[Facing P. 23]